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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

WHEN Congress meets much will be forced upon the attention of the Republican majority that will be anything but pleasing. Less than four months ago this Republican majority adjourned Congress after having spent more than four months of special session in legislating to meet a deficit in revenues. And now when Congress comes to meet again the treasury deficits loom up greater than ever. The first three months under the Dingley tariff showed a deficit in revenues of nearly \$30,000,000, and Congress will meet with a deficit in revenues, for the first five months of the fiscal year, of something like \$45,000,000 staring it in the face. And all but the first twenty-four days of this fiscal year were passed under the Dingley tariff. So the facts as they stand are much against the new tariff as a revenue measure. As a revenue measure it appears superficially as a dismal failure, for the monthly deficits have been built up at a greater rate since the passage of this act than before.

So appearances are decidedly against the Dingley tariff. And that the Democrats will seize upon these facts and make

much of them is inevitable. To be reminded of these growing deficits will be displeasing to those who passed the Dingley bill to provide against deficits, and reminded of these deficits they surely will be. And all that the Republicans can answer to the jibes at their tariff will be, "wait and see, possess your souls in patience and it will all come right in the end." And so it may, but perhaps it may not, we might say, most likely not, for there is no good reason to look forward for such an increase of importations as the Republicans count upon, and without such increase the new tariff will not yield a sufficiency of revenues to meet expenditures, unless, indeed, Republicans take to economizing, which they do not seem at all inclined to do.

With importations of \$800,000,000 or so a year there would likely be a sufficiency of revenues, with importations of but \$700,000,000 or less a deficit. And it is not likely that importations will increase to this first figure; it is more likely that they will fall below the latter. Importations will not rise to the value of \$800,000,000 or more unless our people are blessed with a very material improvement in conditions of trade and industry, blessed with materially better prices for their products, hence more money in their pockets, more money to spend, and a greater ability to buy. And materially higher prices are not to be expected under the gold standard. Indeed we must look for lower prices for we cannot expect a repetition of the striking combination of circumstances that has worked to raise prices this year. In fine, all the conditions favorable to a rise in prices, rather a boom in prices, have been present but one, that one being a cheaper dollar. Instead of having a cheaper dollar we have had a dearer, and so all the other conditions so favorable for advancing prices, to wit, crop failures abroad, a scarcity in the world's food supply, and an abnormally large demand for our products have served to raise general prices but moderately.

So, all things considered, there is no good reason to look for any great increased and sustained purchasing ability on the part of our people, and without that increased ability there cannot come increased importations and there will come treasury deficits despite the new tariff act. The fall in the price of cotton must sap the profits of cotton planters, indeed wipe such profits out and leave such men without ability to buy. And wheat is only up in price, and the wheat crop has only been profitable because of crop failures abroad. We have often referred to this, but it has been the habit of the partisan Republican press to attribute it, without regard to facts, to the advent of the Republican party to power, a much heralded starting up of industries consequent thereon and a supposed increase in the demand for wheat for home consumption. There was no reasoning with such partisans, they would brook no denial of the falsity of their conclusions, they would listen to no argument. But the truth comes to be recognized at last, at least by one of the leaders of the Republican partisan press. The New York Tribune blandly declares that "fortune rather than wisdom has given the wheat grower a great advantage over the cotton growers this year." And then it goes

on to scold the farmers for planting more wheat for the harvest of 1897 than they planted for the harvest of 1896, although that wheat harvest brought unsatisfactory prices. They should have learned the wisdom from such lesson, asserts the *Tribune*, to plant less wheat. But what might they have planted in the place of wheat? Surely not corn, for corn, in 1896, averaged but 21.5 cents a bushel on the farm, nearly five cents a bushel less than the year before, which would go to show, according to the *Tribune*, that too much corn was planted. And surely not oats, for oats in 1896 brought one cent less a bushel than in 1895, fourteen cents less than in 1894. So the farmers should have planted less oats. Indeed, if they should act on the *Tribune's* advice they would plant less of everything, let their farms run derelict, gradually abandon their farms, and an ever increasing number take up the occupation of tramping the highways in search of work.

But, continues the *Tribune*, good fortune was the lot of these purblind farmers who increased their acreage of wheat. It was folly for them to do so, for "it was not possible for them to know that in most European countries crops would turn out badly." And then the *Tribune* sums up the situation by asserting that "it is now evident that prices might have been as much depressed as in 1895, except as affected by the increase in domestic demand, if foreign crops had turned out as well as usual." This we have been pointing out for months; European crops did turn out badly and our wheat farmers profited, but if they turn out as well as usual next year, what then? Obviously, prices for wheat will be as much depressed as in 1895, that is, to an average of 50.9 cents a bushel on the farm, and such drop in price must sadly diminish the farmer's ability to buy, force him to further curtail his already restricted purchases of foreign goods, and thus make most unlikely an increase in importations, without which increase the Dingley tariff will not yield sufficient revenues to meet the expenditures of the government.

IT IS not on such reasonable ground, however, that we may expect to find the Democrats resting their attacks on the Dingley tariff. It is too much to hope that they will treat this work of Republicans with fairness. That they will seek to paint the failure of the Dingley tariff as a revenue producer in the darkest colors possible, and colors not warranted by the results so far attained under it, is well nigh certain. It is a way partizans have of making political capital. They ever seek to show up the work of their opponents not as it is but in the worst possible light. And so we may expect to find Democrats pointing to the great deficits that have so far accumulated under the Dingley tariff as an indication of what we may expect from that law. Such deductions are unwarrantable, false, misleading, but they will be made, they are made, because the Republicans who undertook to rebuild the tariff so as to provide against deficiency can thereby be made to appear incapable. Their failures are bad enough without heaping upon them the burden of imaginary failures. And in the long run nothing can be gained by misrepresentation. To let it be inferred that the Dingley tariff will show a deficit in revenues of \$120,000,000 a year because the first three months under that act show a deficiency of \$30,000,000 is folly. To make such inferences is neither fair nor profitable. And especially is it the duty of Congressmen to show up things as they are. If the opposition would seek to do this they would profit more, gain more credit, reap more political capital than by a reasonless campaign of studied unfairness and twisting of facts.

That the Dingley tariff will do better as a revenue measure than it did during the first three months of its operation no reasonable man will deny. It will do better because importations following its enactment, especially of dutiable goods, were and still are abnormally light. This for the reason that large quantities of goods were imported in anticipation of the enactment of that law and beyond immediate requirements, imported to escape payment

of the higher duties imposed under the new act. So the importations following that act were very light. But that they are picking up is shown by our trade returns, imports being valued at \$39,847,000 for August, \$42,407,000 for September, and \$49,969,000 for last month. And custom receipts have picked up even more rapidly, for a greater proportion of the goods imported in each month more distant from the enactment of the new tariff have been of the dutiable kind. Thus in August the duties collected were but 17½ per cent. of the value of imports, in September this percentage rose to 18¾ per cent., in October to 19½ per cent. And still the proportion of dutiable imports to free is abnormally small. The excess of importations of dutiable goods made before the passing of the Dingley tariff has not yet been worked off. When it is worked off it is estimated that the average rate of duties collected will be equal to 25 per cent. of the value of imports, under the Wilson act it was about 21.

BEARING this in mind let us consider the probability of the Dingley tariff yielding a sufficiency of revenues. Supposing the estimate of the Dingley law's friends is realized, namely, that that act will yield customs revenues to an amount equal to 25 per cent. of the value of importations, it is certain that revenues will fall below expenditures unless importations reach the value of \$800,000,000 a year, a value considerably in excess of the average recorded for the past four years, a value reached in only three years of our history.

The ordinary expenditures of the government eight years ago, say for the fiscal year 1890, were \$297,736,587. These were the expenditures for the first fiscal year of Mr. Harrison's administration. By 1893, the last year of his administration, expenditures had risen to \$383,477,955, more than half of such increase, however, being attributable to an increase of pension disbursements. With the advent of Mr. Cleveland came a paring down of expenditures, although the bonded debt and interest charges were increased—expenditures for the fiscal year 1896 being reduced to \$352,179,446. Then expenditures rose for 1897 to \$365,774,159 and for the first full fiscal year under Mr. McKinley's administration they promise to reach \$375,000,000. Thus Republicans show an inclination to increase expenses not to curtail them, and therefore we must assume that at least \$375,000,000 of revenue must be raised if a deficit is to be avoided. Now for this sum we can depend on internal revenue taxes for \$150,000,000 and on miscellaneous receipts for perhaps \$25,000,000 more. The balance, or \$200,000,000, must be gotten out of customs duties and to get that amount of customs duties will require, under the rates fixed by the Dingley law, importations of the value of no less than \$800,000,000, that law being calculated to yield, when in full working trim, a customs revenue equal to 25 per cent. of the value of imports both dutiable and free. If importations reach only \$700,000,000 a customs revenue of only \$175,000,000 can be counted on and a deficit in revenues of \$25,000,000 is probable. Importations of only \$600,000,000 would give a probable deficit of \$50,000,000 and indications are that imports will come to but little more than this value for the present fiscal year.

THAT Republicans will take any note of such probable deficit is not at all likely. The large cash balance in the Treasury and the replenishing of that balance by the sale of the assets of the government, in short, by the disposal of the government's interests in the Pacific railroads, relieves the Republicans from all pressure on this score, for the Treasury could meet a deficiency of \$50,000,000 without suffering any inconvenience. And as for the country, distribution of a part of the needlessly large cash balance of the government and the putting of some of this money into the channels of trade from which it was primarily withdrawn by the Cleveland bond issues, would be of great benefit to our producing classes. It would tend to sustain prices, this might result in

hastening the resumption of gold exports and put a strain on the government, but better that the government should suffer strain than a bankrupted people.

Moreover, Republicans will not be disposed to press further revenue legislation at this time and by so doing make public recognition, at this early date, of the failure of the Dingley tariff. It would be too bitter a pill for them to swallow. Yet they will have to go through the disagreeable ordeal of refusing this pill for it will be forced upon them by the opposition. They may well be pleased that the rules of the House and the iron will of Mr. Reed will keep such displeasing question from long demanding the attention of the House and shut off much that would be displeasing, irritating, for Republicans to hear.

ANOTHER question but little less displeasing than this of deficits and revenue will also be forced upon the Republicans in Congress, namely, the question of remodelling our currency system on the gold basis with the banks as the central power, the question of the government abdicating its sovereign power to regulate the value of money to the banks. And this question Republicans can hardly avoid taking under consideration, though such consideration is very likely to lead to acrimonious debates, the uncovering of uncompromisable differences of opinion and threatening breaches in the ranks of the Republicans. So, many are the Republicans, who look upon the consideration of this question as politically inexpedient, as worse than a waste of time, yet do not see their way to avoid it, for the pressure by the moneyed interests for such consideration is well directed and insistent.

THOSE who are so earnest in advocating the grinding down of our monetary system into accord with the gold standard would do well to study our trade returns. A study of those returns would show them that there is one factor of infinite importance that must be considered in the framing of any practicable plan for remodelling our currency, namely, the existence of a great foreign debt, a debt that makes it impossible for us to firmly establish the gold standard, a debt that must put it in the power of our foreign creditors to unsettle any monetary system based on gold that we may establish whenever they might see fit to draw away the basis of such system, gold. And this basis, this gold, could be drawn away whenever our foreign creditors chose to call for the payment of a part of the principle of our great debt, a principle they could call at any time, even though not due, by dumping the securities representing such debt on our stock exchanges for sale, securities that those who have pledged similar securities as collateral would have to buy in order to avert bankruptcy and would buy so long as they could borrow money to pay. And this they could do until our gold was exhausted, for the banks that loan on such securities would be obliged to lend the money required to support the prices for such securities in order to protect their own loans.

Moreover, that we could narrow down our currency to the gold standard is, considering our enormous foreign debt, extremely doubtful. It is so because there is just one way for us to keep gold, and that is to make gold dearer than elsewhere or, what is the same thing, general prices lower, so that our creditors would purchase our commodities rather than take our gold, which they could not spend so advantageously anywhere else. But this making of prices lower increases, of necessity, the quantity of produce that must be given to meet interest payments, etc., and this is where we would have trouble with our foreign debt. Every fall in price would make the burden of that debt heavier, and sooner or later there must come a time in the increase of such burden when debtors cannot stand it and be driven to bankruptcy.

And so in striving after the gold standard we would come to the point where we, or rather the banks whom it is designed

should be the sole regulators of our currency, would be confronted with the stern alternatives of either forcing themselves into bankruptcy by bankrupting their customers, or of saving themselves by the expansion of their issues to avert general bankruptcy, which expansion would mean increased demands for gold for export, demands that could only be checked by contraction, that if not checked by contraction would lead to suspension, and so the banks would have to choose between putting on the screws, driving producers into general bankruptcy and precipitating losses on themselves, and suspending specie payments. And they would suspend, for though they are not averse to putting on the screws to squeeze producers they are prompt to release those screws, even have been, even to the breaking of the law and the issue of Clearing House Certificates, when the pinch reacts on themselves. The maintenance of the gold standard is a very different thing in a country like England, to which the rest of the world is indebted by \$15,000,000,000 or more, and a country like the United States, which owes abroad probably \$5,000,000,000.

IT IS because our trade returns evidence the existence of some such debt that our currency tinkers should study such returns. Once appreciate the existence of a great foreign debt and the tinkering with our currency in order to put it firmly on the gold basis,—a tinkering that seemed very simple, would appear to be nigh to impracticable as it is. And our trade returns show unmistakably the existence of such a foreign debt and a very great foreign debt.

During the four months, July to October, inclusive, we have sold of merchandise, gold and silver, \$175,662,361 worth more than we bought. This is what our trade returns show. We know to a certainty that much of such favorable balance goes to pay the bills of Americans travelling and living abroad, we know that much goes to pay freights to foreign ship owners, freights earned by the carriage of imports to our ports and which freights our people pay in higher prices for such imported goods. But a trade balance in our favor of \$175,000,000, built up in four months, is not absorbed, or anything like absorbed on such accounts. Probably after providing for such charges a balance of not less than \$125,000,000 would remain. And what has become of such balance? It must have gone to settle interest charges on a foreign debt, or gone to wipe out a part of the principle of such a debt, or it may have remained in part outstanding, a debt of the rest of the world to us. And it is very probable that a part of this balance has been used in each of these three ways. How much has been used in each way is the problem. Investigation will show that our interest charges are something like \$200,000,000 a year, the principle of our foreign debt about \$5,000,000,000. Therefore the interest charges for four months would appear to take rather more than a half of the balance of \$125,000,000.

THE balances of trade in our favor are unparalleled. We are actually selling twice as much as we are buying. Leaving gold and silver aside, we sold of merchandise in July last \$71,103,968 worth, in August \$80,825,050, or more than twice as much as we bought; in September \$104,540,912, or two and one-half times as much as we bought; in October, \$111,792,449, or two and one-fifth times what we bought. That we cannot command gold imports in any great volume even with such exports carries its own lesson. In a word, in debt to Europe, we are dependent on the European bankers, and must remain so while we cling to gold as the sole basis for our money, for the European bankers can shift that basis, draw away gold from it, at will. In a word, we have built up a trade balance against Europe during the last four months at the rate of \$525,000,000 a year, and still are not independent. And if we cannot secure independence under such circumstances, when can we hope to become independent under the gold standard? Obviously never.

Of course, it is not to be inferred that because we built up a favorable trade balance for the first four months of the present fiscal year at the rate of \$525,000,000 a year, that the trade balance for the year will actually reach such figure. There is no chance that it will, for though the present month and the two following are months most favorable for large exports, being months for the great movement of cotton, the last three months of the fiscal year are invariably months of comparatively small imports. Then, too, the serious fall in cotton is likely to keep down the value of exports in the present month as it did in the last, and besides, imports for the last months of this fiscal year will be larger than imports during the first.

BUT let us try and catch up with our currency tinkers, to whom the existence of a great foreign debt gives no concern, though to ignore it as a factor is calculated to upset the best laid plans for firmly establishing the gold standard. Still it must be said that few or none of the many plans of currency monopoly, alias reform, are well laid. They are contradictory, illogical, strangely vague as if the framers' ideas of finance were much befogged. So, that the existence of our foreign debt should be ignored as a factor to be considered in the remodelling of our currency system, is not at all surprising. The suggestions that are being submitted are in many things variant, but on one point there is striking accord, and that is that though silver is not good enough for the banks and the rich, not a sound enough, safe enough currency, it is quite good enough for the poor, for those who toil with their hands. Indeed it is quite generally proposed that the poor should be required to use this second-class currency, second-class in the estimation of the moneyed interests, practically to the exclusion of anything else, for it is proposed to retire all legal-tender notes of the United States, all bank notes of a smaller denomination than \$10, and leave only silver coin or its representatives in circulation. If silver is good money this is well enough, but if there is something better than silver why should not the laborer be permitted to use it?

Most of the plans the public is surfeited with come from those connected with financial institutions. It appears that it was primarily to such men that the Monetary Commission went for information. This is not at all surprising, for there is a carefully cultivated idea that bankers have a sort of monopoly of financial wisdom. There was never a more fallacious notion given currency. Bankers may have a knowledge of the laws of finance and trade, more often they have not. The mere fact that they handle money confers no such knowledge, its handling requires no such knowledge; and to suppose that such knowledge is inherent in bankers is as absurd as to suppose the baker must have a knowledge of the processes of milling because he handles flour. He may have such knowledge, but the probability is that he has not. And the same is true of the banker. He may have such knowledge, it would be well if he had it, but it is no more essential to him than it is to the man who sells the products of labor.

SOME suggestions that have attracted more than ordinary attention emanate from Mr. Horace White, the gifted New York publicist. He finds the strongest reason for the retirement of our greenbacks, etc., and the substitution of bank paper to be that such course would put the regulation of our currency and measure of value beyond the control of the people. Mr. White holds that the banks should be left free to issue notes as they saw fit, that then they would issue just as much currency as the country required, that they should be required to keep the same reserve against such notes as against deposits, no more no less. He insists that such reserve should be gold, nothing else. The needed gold, he asserts, we could get by keeping the gold we mine and importing gold from abroad. How we could import gold other than by making it dearer and prices lower here than elsewhere,

where, and how this could be accomplished other than by contraction, he does not tell us. Perhaps he contemplates such contraction, for though he says nothing about it, he would leave all this to the banks. In short, Mr. White's proposition is one of the free issue of all currency by the banks. Yet on top of telling us that the banks thus authorized and left free would issue all the currency needed, he turns round and tells us he would restrict such issues to an amount equal to one half of the capital and surplus of the banks. On the present capitalization this would make an authorized issue of about \$450,000,000. However, when the banks got into trouble he would permit them to issue one half as much again, conditional upon the payment of a tax upon such notes at the rate of five per cent. per annum. The object of the tax would, of course, be to constrain the banks to retire such notes when the panic that called them out passed over.

Quite similar to Mr. White's suggestions are some made by Mr. Townsend, President of the Bowery Savings Banks, of New York. He, too, would substitute bank currency for national and base such bank currency solely on the assets of the banks. He, too, would limit the bank issues to 50 per cent. of their capital and surplus, and he too, a little more candid than Mr. White, declares that while "in periods of normal business, bank reserves should consist exclusively of gold coin," the gold system is doomed to break down periodically, and that provision must be made at such times for meeting the strain by an extraordinary issue of bank notes and a virtual suspension of gold payments. A system that breaks down at the first strain, that must be abandoned "in times of panic or sudden stringency to enable the banks to continue discounts and prevent commercial distress," is a pretty system to be put forth as the model of stability and soundness.

THERE seem to be few men in Congress who expect the enactment of any legislation looking to the retirement of our national currency and the substitution of bank paper. One exception, however, we have in Congressman Fowler, of New Jersey, who has a pet plan of his own that he spread out on the leaves of the *Congressional Record* some months ago, presumably for his own benefit, for it is doubtful if any one save himself ever waded through his long drawn out plan, a plan that could probably command one vote in the House and none in the Senate. However, whether or no Mr. Fowler's judgment is biased by grooming over his plan which he cannot bear to think will be permitted to drop out of sight, he does assert that Congress not only should but will "obey the mandate of the people" to reform our currency, a mandate that few honestly feel was given, and asserts that "a studied disregard of our currency problem can only spring from political cowardice, which the American people despise and invariably rebuke." In short, argues Mr. Fowler, the Republican party must destroy the government's power over our currency and empower the banks to lay a tribute on our people by issuing and regulating such currency, or be destroyed itself.

On the other hand, we have Congressman Grosvenor, of Ohio, who has a following in the House, responding to a question as to whether he thought the Republicans would unite on a proposition for the retirement of the greenbacks in this rather emphatic manner :

"Certainly not, by no means. I do not believe that the President will recommend such a thing."

Well, may be the President will, and what then? Opposition on the floor of the House by the man who is or was recognized above all others as Mr. McKinley's chosen representative, who thought he had the President's ear? Perhaps so, it would not be surprising, as Mr. Grosvenor, as leader of the spoilsman, has already made one covert and violent attack on the President for his civil service order of last summer.

POSTMASTER GENERAL GARY has brought the question of the establishment of postal savings banks to the fore. And he has not tacked on to his recommendations any objectionable suggestion such as the depositing of the savings collected with the national banks, such as Mr. Wanamaker once made as Postmaster General, and such as would be calculated to kill the whole proposition. In his report Mr. Gary recommends the establishment of postal savings banks most earnestly. It is to be hoped Congress will put his recommendations into the form of law. That it will do so is more than likely. The demand for postal savings banks is general. Yet there is opposition, though the opposition is somewhat hard put for ground upon which to stand. The backbone of the opposition comes from the managers of the present savings funds. From such men who are trustees, and whose highest aim should be to promote the interests of those whom they are appointed to serve, there should come no opposition. On the contrary there should come support for anything that will benefit the depositors of savings funds, give the depositors of such funds safer and more convenient places of deposit than are now accorded to them. True, such establishment of postal savings banks might take away business from the present savings funds, dry some of them up. But the trustees of such banks should not object to this, should not object to it when opportunity was offered for the better caring of the interests of their depositors elsewhere, for the savings funds are, or should be, run for the interest of the depositors not for profit. This, of course, applies only to the mutual savings banks, but the mutual savings banks hold four times the deposits of the private banks. The trouble with the managers of our savings funds seems to be that in opposing postal savings banks their highest aim is not looking after the interests of their depositors but after the keeping of their own salaries.

We hardly blame the managers of the savings funds for this for it is human nature to act as they act, but we should not harbor for them any compassion. As Mr. Gary says, they are the backbone of the opposition to postal savings banks. Such opposition is not put on the ground that such establishment is a step in the direction of socialism, for all the important civilized nations of the world, Germany and the United States excepted, have taken this socialistic step. Nor can such banks be opposed on the ground of inutility. The advantages of a postal savings system cannot be denied. So the opponents of postal banks fall back on the assertion that as the United States has no permanent national debt, it cannot safely invest savings bank deposits. If so, how is it the present savings funds can safely invest deposits? They have not in all cases, but they can, and so can the government. The trustees of the present savings banks have no monopoly of wisdom as to what are safe and unsafe investments, what good and what bad. As Mr. Gary says, the bonds of states, counties and municipalities and real estate, furnish an illimitable field. It is so, and the responsible officers of the government can enter this field of investment just as safely as the trustees of the present savings funds.

MR. GARY also suggests a use to which deposits made in postal savings banks could be advantageously put to a limited extent. He points out that the United States now pays \$1,300,000 a year as rentals for post offices, that if the postal savings should be invested in buildings needed for such purposes, such money as is now spent as rentals, or so much of it as needed, could be put aside by the government to pay interest on the savings invested in government buildings. In this way a safe investment would be made of the savings, and at the same time expense saved to the postal department, for the interest on the buildings would probably come to less than the rentals of offices now come to. It is urged such investments could not be readily realized upon, but there is no reason to suppose that the government

would ever have to realize, for there is but little probability of the deposits in the postal savings funds taking other course than that of steady growth. And besides the government could readily realize upon such investments in post office buildings by issuing bonds to cover the investment.

The deficit in postal revenues also comes in for Mr. Gary's attention. This deficit he lays at the door of second class mail matter, which is transported much below cost. Now it is quite true that the low rate of postage, one cent a pound, on newspapers and periodicals, established with the laudable purpose of encouraging the dissemination of information, has been grossly abused by the publishers of bogus serials, yellow back novels, issued serially and numbered it is true, but not sold to any extent to subscribers or serial in any true sense of the word. But a grosser abuse is the mulcting of the government by the railroads for transportation and in the renting of cars. Thus for the postal cars the government pays as rentals their full value every year; it pays much more for transportation than the express companies pay, and for, in many cases, the identical service. There is room here for the wiping out of the postal deficits without interfering with the efficiency of the mail service.

THESE postal matters should and no doubt will receive the consideration of Congress. But there is another question that is likely to take precedence of these and all other matters. And that is the Cuban question, the granting of the Cuban's belligerent rights, the recognition of Cuban independence or direct interference to stop the profitless strife, which Spain, though obviously beaten, keeps at with dogged determination, to the sacrifice of hundreds of Spanish soldiers by sickness, thousands of non-combatant Cubans by starvation and a very few Cuban patriots by bullets. If we do no more, and the doing of more rests largely with Mr. McKinley, we should hesitate no longer to recognize the Cubans as belligerents. To such recognition they are justly entitled. They are in military possession of the greater part of the island, they have had for nearly three years a civil government, a fixed capital that the Spaniards have never disturbed, one President has served his term and a second duly chosen installed in his place, they are in possession of the only part of the island that is not blighted with famine and pestilence, they are so feared that the Spaniards are virtually cooped up in fortified posts, so superior in agility of movement and courage and the concentration that gives strength that they are able to appropriate the better part of the produce raised in the narrow cultivated zones established by the Spaniards around the towns. In short, they are entitled to recognition as belligerents, it is injustice to deny them this recognition.

And here let us say just one word about filibustering. We hear a great deal about it, but as a matter of fact, there is very little of it attempted. The shipping of arms and ammunitions to Cuba is not filibustering, it is not even illegal. It is only a regularly armed and organized expedition fitted out for landing on Cuban soil and making war against the Spaniards that is in any sense a filibustering expedition and it is only such expeditions that are illegal under our law. And it is only of such expeditions that Spain has a right to complain. The mere dispatch of munitions of war in time of peace, and according to Spain there is no war in Cuba, is no offense under international law.

THE settlement of our dispute with Canada over the seals that make their home at breeding season on the Prybilov islands seems to hang fire. This herd of seals making their home on our islands we have always felt a kind of property in. Our enjoyment and profit from the quasi ownership of this herd has been much restricted by the Canadian pelagic sealers who hunt this herd when it annually takes to the deep sea after breeding season. This pelagic hunt on the part of the Canadians has been so ener-

getic and such little care do these ocean sealers take in selecting the male seals for slaughter, that the herd is in serious danger of extermination. If this pelagic sealing is not put a stop to, or the catch greatly limited, extermination of this herd will be a matter of but a few years. Hence our dispute with Canada over the pelagic hunt. The question presents itself in a very simple form. It should be simply this: If Canada is set on pursuing the course that must exterminate the seal in a few years we will exterminate the herd at one blow, as we can do when the seals next come to the Prybilov islands to breed, as they annually do, and reap the profit of such extermination. Thus put, Canada would hardly insist upon killing the goose that lays the golden egg. She would agree to suspend, for a time, and then restrict the pelagic catch and so help to preserve the seal from extermination.

Done systematically, a very large number of seals can be taken annually without in any way diminishing the herd. This for the reason that the seal is a practicer of polygamy on a broad scale, and there is no apparent difference in the numbers of males and females at birth. So it happens that there are ever numbers of "bachelor" seals, and these can be killed without interfering in any way with the reproduction of the herd. True, this systematic killing can only be well done on land. Not being observed on the water, the seal herd has been reduced to one fifth of its former size. Formerly 100,000 seals could be slaughtered annually on the Prybilov Islands, now only 20,000. This has been the result of the pelagic sealing. If it is to be extermination, we ought to do it so that the Canadians get no profit; if it is to be preservation, let Canada join us in an agreement to that end, and Canadians can share reasonably in the profit. Canada should be made to understand that to grasp at all is to get none.

SENATOR CHANDLER still clings to the hope of international bimetallism. He refuses to regard the defeat of the Wolcott commission as final. He calls upon the Republican party to continue to fight for bimetallism, declares that if it does not it will suffer defeat, and backs this up by the somewhat remarkable statement that Mr. McKinley was elected because his platform and previous utterances promised efforts to secure bimetallism and that the Republicans lost the Senate because those promises were evidently insincere and therefore distrusted by the Republican voters. How it came about that voters held this platform to be sincere when the presidential candidate stood upon it and evidently insincere when Senators were standing upon it we need not stop to consider. Certainly Mr. McKinley's attitude and his gold speeches during the campaign would not lead one to suppose that he regarded it as sincere. However, if Senator Chandler can draw any such lesson from the success of Mr. McKinley and the loss of the Senate to the Republicans we will not dispute it with him.

What is more to the point is what Senator Chandler proposes now. He declares the duty of the Republican party is "to bring together the nations of the Western Hemisphere and unite them in one great irresistible demand for the money of the ages." Now to bring such nations together, and to make their demand felt and irresistible there is just one way: That is for the United States to open her mints to free silver coinage. If gold then went to a premium we would have an advantage over Britain and other gold countries in trade with the silver and paper-using countries to the south of us. This for the reason that there would remain no premium on our currency and acting as a tariff on imports from the United States into silver-using Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia. But there would still remain a premium on British gold, practically a tariff against British goods, though, of course, not so much as now, for silver would surely rise as compared to gold on the opening of our mints, and the premium on our currency would be reduced in paper-using Brazil, Argentine, Chili below the premium on British gold, and hence it would be

cheaper for those peoples to buy from us than Britain, cheaper because they would not have to pay as high a premium for remittances to the United States as to England. So Britain would rapidly lose her trade to South America, our manufacturers would be on the high road to capture it, and Britain would have to hasten to help us restore bimetallism in order to save her commercial supremacy. Senator Chandler may be ready for such a step, but the Republican party is not.

"SILVER REPUBLICANS, it is yours to hold together in a common fidelity, the co-operating elements of reform, it is yours especially to persuade deceived and betrayed Republicans that revolt against their betrayers is their highest duty." These are words from an appeal of the brilliant chairman of the Silver Republican party, ex-Congressman Towne, called forth by the failure of the Wolcott commission. The scales should indeed now drop from the eyes of Republicans who have been deceived, led astray by false promises of bimetallism; the time for making converts among Republican bimetallists is indeed propitious, and it was never truer than to-day that "if the degradation and the enslavement of our producers is to be averted; if to ourselves and posterity the blessings of liberty are to be preserved; if the final industrial and social regeneration of the race is to remain a secure and reasonable hope, there must come enlightenment and enfranchisement to hundreds of those blinded by partisan prejudice and in bondage to partisan custom."

But while silver Republicans cut away and work to cut others away from the party that has betrayed them, they will be wise to be on their guard before tying themselves up anew lest they be betrayed again. Mr. Towne virtually calls upon silver Republicans to join the Democratic party, work for Democratic success, yet where is the assurance that that party will not go back on its later day Chicago faith and fall again under the sway of the moneyed interests of New York? Once betrayed, let silver Republicans take wisdom and be on their guard that they be not betrayed again, let them take care that they do not play into the hands of their enemies.

HERE is a passage from a recent address of Governor Pingree of Michigan, delivered before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York, that is worthy of being framed:

"During my experience in municipal government I have learned a few things. One of them is that good municipal government is an impossibility while valuable franchises are to be had and can be obtained by the corrupt use of money. Another thing I have learned is to trust the people. Can you wonder that, when I found supposedly respectable men in the business of buying public officials, I lost faith in the classes and clung to the masses? In certain circles, in some of your clubs, the talk is that republics are a failure, and that a monarchy like England is the only stable form of government. My friends, I have always noticed that those who do not trust the people are those who are trying to do something which is against the interest of the people."

Obviously Mr. Pingree is in the wrong party, he was elected as a Republican.

THE BOYCOTT AND THE STRIKE.

ONE of the greatest boycotts known to history was entered into by the American people nearly a century and a quarter ago. The people of the thirteen colonies were then bound to England by ties of filial love, they gloried in England's conquests, victories as their own, they rejoiced with England in her successes, they sorrowed with her in her reverses, they took pride in their British lineage, pride in their allegiance to the British crown. But Britain undertook to aggrandize herself at her colonies' expense, she pursued towards them a selfish and shortsighted policy, she undertook to rule them not by love but by force, to rule them for England's profit, not the advantage

of the ruled. And so the ties of filial love that bound the colonies to Britain were regretfully broken by the colonists; where at first they loved they began to hate, until finally they resisted force by force, and broke forever the bands of union that had been used for their oppression.

But in spite of injustice, in spite of oppression, which they were resolved never to endure, the colonies long hoped for reconciliation, long hoped that Britain would outlive her folly and do them justice, see the wisdom of treating them as people of the same race and heritage, of the same rights and the same spirit, a people to be protected and with rights, interests, to be looked after and conserved, not as a conquered race to be oppressed and despoiled for the profit of the conqueror. So there was hesitation on the part of the colonists to come to an open rupture with the mother country that they loved but refused to love them, there was ardent protest, strenuous resistance by all peaceful means before recourse was had to arms. And it was here as a protest, as resistance to injustice, that history records the great boycott, the boycott of a people, of which we speak.

Regarding colonies as communities to be bled for the enrichment of the mother country, Britain strove to enforce against the colonies the famous navigation acts, she sought to turn the industries of the colonies into artificial channels, she sought to force all trade of the colonies through British marts, so that the British mercantile class might levy a tax upon what the colonists bought, a tax upon what they had to sell. The colonists were refused the right to trade where and with whom they chose, they were required to pay for what they bought what British merchants saw fit to charge, to sell their produce for what such merchants might see fit to pay.

Such oppression reared up a spirit of stern resistance. As the most effectual protest short of war, what we know in modern phrase as the boycott, was resorted to. Men and women solemnly resolved to refuse to use British goods while the noxious laws remained un-repealed, they resolved to sacrifice personal finery of foreign make, to dress in home spun, to live within themselves, refuse to trade with the outside world at all until they should be permitted to trade where and with whom they should choose. Such was the boycott of a century and a quarter ago; then the entering into that boycott, that agreement to discard with foreign goods, was the highest test of patriotism.

But now we have the boycott, when resorted to by American workmen branded, by our courts, as an illegal weapon with which to resist oppression, injustice, or what said workmen may regard as such. So, too, did the British Government regard the boycott of long ago as illegal and persisting in treating it thus, refusing to heed its lesson, forced the American people into rebellion. And so to-day refusal to accord to American workmen the use of the only weapons which they have to protect themselves from oppression, at least the only weapons they have so far availed of, the boycott and the strike, may lead to resistance by means of other weapons less pleasing to their oppressors, to those who now deny them the right to defend themselves by the boycott and the strike.

One weapon is at the disposal of the American workmen today that was not at the disposal of the colonists when the boycott failed them, namely, the ballot, a weapon by which he can if he will defend himself, secure to himself emancipation from oppression without resort to force. And refusal to recognize the legality of the strike and the boycott may force the American workmen to drop such weapons and take up the much more effective one, the ballot. If so, such refusal may well be regarded as a blessing, for the strike and the boycott, we must admit, are but the relics of barbarism—relics of barbarism even as is resort to the sword for the settlement of disputes between nations and peoples, between rulers and ruled; a means that there should never be occasion to resort to in a country where the ruled are their own rulers, that must be resorted to where the right of the people

to rule themselves is not recognized and when some ruler, or ruling class, ruling by the right of usurpation—as do all rulers posing as hereditary rulers under the divine law of kings—undertakes to rule for the profit of rulers and without regard for the interests of ruled. While there is such ruling there must be resort to the sword, and such resort will be not only the right but the duty of the oppressed, as it was the right and duty of the patriots of 1776 to take up the sword against British oppression.

The boycott is much resorted to by our labor unions to-day but with little effectual result. Indeed, the boycott is a weapon used by the labor unions that, in a way, is never sheathed. Thus the members of the labor unions are expected, if not bound, to give preference in their purchases to articles produced by union labor. Thus there is standing discrimination against those employers who refuse to sign the scale of wages agreed upon from time to time by the labor unions and the employers working in harmony with such unions. That such discrimination, such boycott of non-union goods, amounts to little is made very apparent by the many employers who give the cold shoulder to the labor unions of the trades in which they are engaged and still do not find that they are laboring under any very serious disadvantages, at least serious enough to make them feel it worth while to release themselves from such disadvantages by signing the union scales.

But at times the labor unions organize a boycott that makes itself felt. This may happen at the time of some strike when a boycott is instituted against goods made or handled by men who have taken the places of the strikers. Thus it is sought to cripple the business of employers if they undertake to carry on their business without compromising with their old hands on strike and so detain such employers from hiring new men to fill the places of the strikers.

Now it takes no stretch of the imagination to call such organization on the part of strikers a conspiracy in restraint of trade and so illegal under the Sherman anti-trust act. It is true such act was aimed to restrain organizations and combines of employers in restraint of trade, organizations for artificially forcing up prices by arbitrarily restricting production and competition and so taxing consumers, organizations for restricting the market for labor and so pressing down wages, but such act has not been enforced against employers of labor, against combines and trusts and pools, save in rare instances; it has been twisted about and enforced against labor unions, for surely the strike or boycott, instituted by the labor union, is, in the eyes of the law, a conspiracy in restraint of trade and such conspiracies are declared illegal by the Sherman anti-trust act.

If it is illegal for employers to combine, to enter into conspiracy to oppress wage earners, it must be illegal, so reasons the legal mind, for workmen to combine to raise wages, to interfere with employers building up profits at the expense of their workmen. And as employers find it more natural to appeal to the law than wage earners, as it takes money to push these charges of conspiracy in restraint of trade before our courts, it is not at all surprising that the law should be more often invoked against wage earners, members of labor unions, that are held to be organizations in restraint of trade, than against the combines of employers, the trusts and monopolies, aimed at by those who framed what they believed, or at least declared to be anti-trust legislation but has turned out to be anti-labor union.

Nearly two years ago a barrel manufacturing company of Kansas City, Kans., placed in their plant machines to hoop barrels. The Coopers' Union, of Kansas City, of which the employees of this barrel making concern were members, objected to these machines. The members of this labor union saw in the advent of these machines the displacement, the discharge of a number of hands, for the machines would do what several hands were required to do before. So the labor union made a demand

upon this barrel making concern that it discard these new machines. Very naturally the barrel company refused to dispense with the machines by the use of which it saw the means of increasing its output of barrels and profits. The result was friction with its employees, and finally the instituting of a boycott. In short, effort was made by the Cooper's Union to destroy the market for the barrels of this concern. This it was sought to accomplish by calling upon the other labor unions to order their members not to handle such machine made barrels, notify the different packing concerns, etc., that they would not pack in such barrels, that if given such barrels they would go on strike. So organized effort was instituted to prevail upon all users of barrels to patronize some other concern than the Kansas City machine using factory, until such time as the use of the objectionable machines in such factory might be discontinued.

The next step was an appeal of the boycotted concern to the United States district court and later to the Circuit Court of Appeals, at St. Louis, for protection, for an order restraining the Cooper's Union, or rather some members of that union against whom the case was instituted, from pushing the boycott. Such order was granted by the lower court, and on appeal affirmed by the higher. And so the boycott is declared to be illegal.

It is regrettable that such test case of the right of boycott should have been raised by organized labor over the introduction of labor-saving machinery. It prejudices the case in the eyes of all thinking men at the start, for surely improvements in methods and tools of production, improvements that must make labor more productive cannot be injurious to wage-earners or the country. It stands to reason that the more the laborer produces the more there will be for him to consume, that the greater the money value of his labor the higher may be his wages, and the greater his command over the necessities and comforts of life.

It is as unreasonable to object to the use of barrel-hooping machinery as it would be to object to the self-binding reaper; as unreasonable to object to the self-binding reaper as it would be to object to the use of the sickle, the steel plow or the spade. And yet the introduction of the reaper dispenses with labor in the harvest, enables one man to do the work of many with the sickle, and so might be said to throw men out of work by making less work to do and so injure wage earners. But instead of making less work to do such improvements make it possible for men to do more work, make it possible for a smaller proportion of the population to raise the food for the whole, make it possible for more men to engage in the production of clothing and shelter, and so give to mankind a greater command over the comforts of life. Those engaged in agricultural industry get more for their toil and so their ability to purchase more of the products of others is increased. And thus arises an increased demand for manufactured products, an increased demand for labor in the supplying of such wants that makes place for the laborers whose toil is dispensed with by the introduction of the self-binding reaper in place of the sickle, the steam thrasher in place of the flail, the steel plow in place of the rudely-shaped stem of a tree.

And the laborers thus released from the farm will do better in new employments opened up by the increased demands of the farming population, for in such new employments they can command higher wages than they could under old conditions on the farm when using old tools. This for the reason that the farmer will have more produce to give for manufactured goods, and he will give more of his produce to the makers of such goods than he would or could when his produce cost him more of labor. And then too it must be remembered that as the labor cost of producing anything is decreased the consumption tends to increase. This because more men can get what they want and need. In short real cheapness, cheapness not in the money cost, but in the labor cost of production is a great boon to the human

race, for with such cheapness man's command over the resources of nature grows.

The more wealth that is produced the greater will be the wealth to be divided, and unless there be an unjust monetary system that confers upon the creditor classes this increase, or unless there be some combine or monopoly, the outgrowth of some railroad discrimination, or some other inequality reared by man,—some monopoly controlling production and taking to itself the result of the increased productiveness of labor—the laborer will get a full share of such increased production of wealth. And even if there is monopoly he will be likely to get a share for such monopoly will be guided by self interest. It will fix the price for its product, the cost of production of which has been cheapened, at a point at which it judges the returns, the profits will be greatest. If it is thought that greater profits can be made by large sales at lower prices and a smaller margin of profit than on small sales at higher prices, the monopoly will put down prices to the point to attract the larger sales. And larger sales will make of necessity increased demand for labor despite the introduction of labor saving machinery, for the greater production of the trust will make greater demand for the raw products used by such trust in production, and thus extend the demand for labor with the likely result of raising wages.

Of course any monopoly that succeeds in taking for the employer of labor a disproportionate share of any increased wealth production growing out of improvements in methods of production must detract from the benefit that should accrue to the wage earner, it may wipe out, or rather absorb the benefit of the wage earner, altogether. And this is equally true of an unjust monetary system that gives to the creditor classes a share in the increased production of wealth growing out of improvements and savings in production.

To expiate, the wealth produced is divided into three general portions, one to the creditor classes, as interest, taxes, rents, one to the employer of labor as profits, a third to workmen as wages. Now suppose the share of the first represents one third of all the wealth produced and then come improvements in methods of production that greatly increase the productiveness of labor. Such increased productiveness will be followed by a general fall in prices unless the supply of money is increased proportionately, and then of course the creditor will still continue to get one-third of all the wealth produced. He will get one-third of the increased production of wealth growing out of the energies, inventions, and labor of the employing and wage earning classes, and rightly belonging to those two classes. And if it happens that money not only grows relatively but actually scarcer so that prices fall to a greater degree than can be accounted for by any cheapening of production, then the creditor classes will get more than a third of all the wealth produced, and of course employers and wage earners will get proportionately less. And in such event all the advantages of improvements in machinery and the introduction of economies in production may accrue to the creditor classes. So it is that employers and wage earners may fail to grow richer with the increased productiveness of their labor, and ground between a dishonest dollar and railroad reared monopolies this has been the experience of independent employers and wage earners for some years.

But because such conditions have been present to deprive the wage earner of the advantages that should accrue to him from improvements in production, the fact that the wage earner has not grown better off of late years with the increased productiveness of his labor must not be laid at the door of the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Without the introduction of such improvements he would be even worse off than he is. That he is not better off must be blamed upon a dishonest monetary system, and upon railroad-created combines and monopolies that have not only turned into the hands of creditors and trusts and combines the advantages of the growing increased productiveness of labor, but

discouraged the production of wealth, caused a slackening of the wheels of industry, caused curtailed production and wasting idleness. And so the introduction of any improved machinery and the laying off of hands has seemed a cause for regret and certainly has worked hardship to the men laid off, and for whom, owing to unhealthy industrial conditions, no other channels of employment, and more profitable employment, have opened. Therefore, the natural result has been opposition to the introduction of labor-saving machinery, such as that of the Coopers' Union of Kansas City to the use of machines to hoop barrels.

But the economic question as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the wage earner opposing the introduction of labor-saving machinery has or should have no weight with the courts in passing on the right of labor unions to organize for a boycott. Rightly or wrongly, the workmen in question believed themselves injured or threatened with injury by the introduction of barrel hooping machinery, and they forthwith organized a boycott to protect themselves from what they felt to be impending injury. Whether they judged rightly or wrongly as to the effect of the use of such machinery upon their interests was not for the courts to decide. The courts were not called upon to pass on such question, were not called upon to judge what would be good for the workmen, were not called upon to judge whether the use of labor-saving machinery is beneficial to wage earners or the reverse. They were called upon to pass on the right of wage earners to organize a boycott for the protection of what such wage earners felt to be their interests. And the courts passed on this question, passed on it, though they did drag in the economic question, and were, perhaps, influenced in the rendering of their opinions by such question, a question of judgment in which the wage earners were clearly in the wrong.

At any rate the United States Courts, first the District Court at Kansas City and now the Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis, have declared the boycott to be illegal, as an unwarranted restraint of trade. That the boycott does interfere with trade, does do injury to the boycotted firm or company, is undeniable. It is intended to, intended to interfere with trade, intended to do injury. If the boycott falls short of this it fails of its purpose. But it does not follow that the boycott is unjustifiable. Unquestionably when a hundred and more years ago a goodly part of the American people resolved to wear homespun goods, to buy no longer British goods, injury was done to British merchants and manufacturers and injury was intended, the course of trade was interfered with, but this, too, was intended, intended to bring Britain to do us justice, to accord to the colonists what they felt to be their rights, and we do not regard these acts on the part of our forefathers as unjustifiable. Far from it, we regard their use of the boycott as highly justifiable.

And so to-day we should hesitate before condemning the boycott. Under certain conditions, conditions that should not be permissible, we grant, but that are, the boycott is justifiable. If the right of boycott is to be accorded employers it is not justice to refuse to accord to employees the same right. While we permit employers to use the weapon of the boycott to strike at labor unions we cannot fairly deny to the labor unions the use of the same weapon to defend themselves, and the right of employers to blacklist, to boycott union workmen, to discriminate against men, refuse to purchase their labor, simply because they are members of labor unions, is not denied, it is treated as an inalienable right. It is said the employer has a right to do this in order to protect himself from aggressions at the hands of organized labor. This being so, the right of wage-earners to boycott the employer whom they may feel is acting counter to their interests, the right to discriminate against such employer, to refuse to purchase his goods until he complies with their demands, cannot justly be denied. This right must be accorded to workmen in order that they may protect themselves from aggressions at the hands of centralized capital, it must be accorded to them so long

as a similar right, the right to boycott labor, is accorded to the owners of that capital. Not to do so is tyranny. The rights of the owner of labor are as sacred as the rights of the owner of capital, yet the rights of labor have been denied. It is not right.

This much we say, but let it be understood that we do not undertake the task of defending the boycott. We justify the boycott as we justify the strike, as at times men justify resort to force as a defense against oppression. To stretch a phrase we justify the boycott of capital as a defense against the boycott of labor. We do not justify the boycott as desirable, or the strike as desirable, any more than we would justify war as desirable. Yet as there are times when war is justifiable, so there are times when the boycott and strike are justifiable. We can only say that such times should not come, in nations where ruled are rulers they should not be permitted to come. The boycott, as the strike, is an interference with trade, a check to industry, to the accumulation of wealth, to progress. But while we can see no wrong in permitting employers to oppress wage earners, we have no right to see any wrong in wage earners organizing the boycott and the strike as a defense against such oppression. The remedy is to see wrong in permitting employers to oppress, to trample on the interests of wage earners. Then we can justly see wrong in permitting wage earners to organize to trespass on the interests of employers. When we see fit to protect the wage earner from oppression at the hands of the employer, then we can interdict the boycott and the strike, rightly make both illegal.

But how can this be accomplished? By arbitration, the submission of difficulties between employers and wage earners to arbitration, in no other way. Yet it is said arbitration has been a failure, that it must be a failure. If so, there is no remedy for the boycott and the strike. But arbitration need not be a failure, there is one country, one land of reforms—New Zealand—where it has not been a failure. It has been a failure with the western world because law makers have lacked the courage to make arbitration compulsory, because there has been no power to enforce the findings of the arbitral boards, because the disputants have observed the hesitatingly rendered verdicts of the arbitration boards when agreeable, refused to live up to them when not. For the same reason arbitration treaties between nations are a farce, a farce because there is no power to enforce the verdicts of the arbitration tribunals. But within countries and in disputes between wage earners and employers there is such a power, a power that can command submission of all disputes to arbitration, that can enforce observance of the decrees of the arbitration courts.

It is because the people of New Zealand have recognized this and decreed compulsory arbitration, that there is one country in the world to-day where arbitration has proven a success. For three years compulsory arbitration has been in force in New Zealand, put in force with the authority of the referendum, and for three years New Zealand has been free from grievous labor disputes. All labor disputes in New Zealand must now, at the demand of either of the disputants, be submitted to a Board of Conciliation composed of an equal number of employers and workmen and presided over by an impartial chairman. The award of this Board is not enforceable by law; it has the force of friendly recommendation only. If the award of such board is unsatisfactory to either of the disputants, if either refuse to abide by it, such award is taken to a Court of Arbitration, a permanent tribunal consisting of a judge of the Supreme Court and two assessors, one selected by the labor unions, one by the associations of employers, or, in default of such selection, by the government. The finding of this court is final, not subject to revision, and enforceable by law, a penalty being imposed for its breach, a penalty not to exceed £500 in the case of any individual employer or trade union, not to exceed £10 in the case of any individual member of a trade union, should the funds of such union be insufficient to meet the fine.

Now it may seem that these penalties are small; it may be urged that this compulsory arbitration law has never been tested, inasmuch as it has not been necessary to invoke the law, up to this time, to enforce any award of the Court of Arbitration. But the bowing of employers and wage earners to the awards of this court, however distasteful, should be rather taken as evidencing a respect for the law and a willingness to abide by the law, such as puts the stamp of approval on this act of compulsory arbitration. To be successful all laws must be obeyed in this way, obeyed because they are just rather than because they must. Yet their observance must be made compulsory, so that those who would by preference willingly and cheerfully observe the laws may have the assurance and the confidence that assurance brings, that all will have to obey. Such assurance is needed to dispose men to rely upon the law for the conservation of their rights.

In a word, the boycott and the strike, these hindrances to trade, the production of wealth, civilization, will go when we resort to compulsory arbitration, not before. The use of these weapons can justly be denied to wage earners when they are relieved of the necessity of their use in order to defend themselves from aggressions, but not until then.

RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA.

ALL good protectionists should welcome reciprocity with Canada and surely all free traders must, for the brilliant Canadian Premier, Laurier, quick in thought and eloquent in speech, a French Canadian but recognized leader of a British colony, honored and loved by his party adherents, respected by his bitterest opponents, is now in Washington, urging reciprocity and he is first of Canadian Cobdenites. Yet the reciprocity that Laurier offers is not the kind we should hasten to accept. Rather we should hasten to reject it. And this because he proposes that Canada give to us only what she has already given to some one else,—which is not the sort of reciprocity that we seek after. Indeed, there is nothing reciprocal about the giving of favors, the opening of our markets, in return for permission to share in markets already thrown open to a powerful competitor on the terms offered us. We want a reciprocal trade arrangement by which we will receive favors as well as give or we want none at all. If we give a preference to Canadian products in our markets we ought to have an equal preference given to our products in Canadian markets. And this Mr. Laurier does not seem disposed to give.

By her new tariff act Canada grants a recession of duties on imports of British goods equal to one-eighth of the regular rate of duties imposed, a recession to be raised to one-fourth next year. Thus the importation of British goods is encouraged, American goods are discriminated against at the Canadian customs' houses. So British manufacturers have an advantage over our producers in the sale of manufactured goods in Canada. How far this discrimination will retard the use of our cotton goods, our agricultural machinery, our manufactures of iron and steel, etc., in Canada, remains to be seen. We have the advantage over the producers of Britain of greater proximity to the markets, we have the advantage, especially in agricultural machinery, of making goods more fitted to Canadian requirements, better suited to their tastes and needs. But that such discrimination will turn Canadian trade across the ocean that formerly flowed across our northern border is unquestioned.

Now comes Mr. Laurier on behalf of Canada and suggests Canada's readiness to put our producers on an equal footing with our British competitors in Canadian markets, on condition that we make satisfactory recessions in our tariff rates in favor of Canadian goods. But why should we be asked to make recessions and give Canadian producers a preference in our markets over all other producers when all that is proposed in Canada's behalf is not that our producers should be given a preference in

Canadian markets but merely put on the same footing with British producers? As a basis to treating for reciprocity Canada should do away with her discrimination in favor of British manufacturers so that to start with our products would be on the same footing in Canadian markets as Canadian products are in our markets, that is, on an equal footing with the products of all the outside world.

It is very true that we have, for many years, sold more to the Canadian people than we have bought from them, that Canada has found it harder to build up a debt against the United States than we have found it to build up a debt against Canada. But this only goes to show that Canada is more dependent upon us than we are dependent upon Canada. In a word, we can get along better without Canada than she can get along without us. But this is Canada's misfortune, it is no reason, that we should listen to, for Canada discriminating against our products and in favor of British. Now we are not at all disposed to find fault with Canada if she sees fit to discriminate in favor of British goods, but the Canadian Government cannot, at least should not be permitted to so discriminate and at the same time command favors for Canadian producers at our hands.

To enter into a reciprocity treaty with Canada on the basis of a general recession of 20 per cent. in our customs tariff on imports from Canada, a recession that some suppose the President is authorized to make under the Dingley tariff, with the consent of the Senate, would be equivalent to a reduction in our tariff on British goods of 20 per cent., for the importation of such goods and at such reduction in rates would be opened by way of Canada, for the Canadian custom rates, especially with the recession for this year of one-eighth and thereafter of one-fourth in favor of British goods are in general materially lower than the rates imposed by the Dingley law on imports into the United States. Such general recession of duties on our part would no doubt be agreeable to Mr. Laurier, but it is hardly to be supposed that Mr. McKinley would become a party to any such recession. Indeed, the reciprocity arrangement which Mr. McKinley may incline to enter into with Canada is sure to be of very narrow scope and not one that will be of any material benefit to either people.

And in this connection it will not be out of place to see just what sort of reciprocity Mr. McKinley may offer. On his own responsibility, as President of the United States, he can offer none at all, for the recessions in duties that the Dingley act directly empowers the President to make in order to promote reciprocal trade are on products that Canada does not produce and export to any material extent, to wit, argols, wines and works of art. Such recessions would be likely to influence France to grant us return favors, but would hardly carry influence with any other country, least of all Canada. So a reciprocal arrangement with Canada must rest on that provision that authorizes the President, with the aid and advice of the Senate, to enter into reciprocity treaties for a period of no longer than five years, and under which a recession in our customs tariff of 20 per cent. on any article, or on all articles of import may be agreed on and under which, further, any non-competitive product on the dutiable list under the Dingley act may be put on the free list.

Now of strictly non-competitive products Canada has none of any material importance to offer, though many of her products, especially timber and those grains, like barley, which thrive best in extreme northern latitudes, are non-competitive to the degree that Canada can produce such things more advantageously than we can; that is, has natural advantages in their production that we cannot overcome. And such products it would, of course, pay us to purchase from Canada. Still no warrant could be found under the Dingley act for putting such products on the free list. All that could be extended would be a reduction in tariff rates of 20 per cent. And this no doubt Mr. Laurier would be pleased to get for Canada in return for granting us the same recessions

in tariff duties that Canada has already extended to Great Britain, in short, in return for giving us that which he has already given Great Britain. That he will get any such concessions, or anything akin to such concessions from the Washington government, is hardly to be supposed.

And then it is just a little uncertain as to whether or no Mr. McKinley, with the consent of the Senate, could make such concessions even if he would, for though the Dingley act authorizes the President to enter into reciprocal trade relations contemplating such concessions with the aid and advice of the Senate, the section that seems to give this authority ends up by asserting that when "such treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress" it may go into effect. So it would seem that the House would have to be considered in the making of any such treaty of reciprocity although it seemingly surrendered all authority over the tariff, within the limit of reductions of 20 per cent., to the President and the Senate when it passed the Dingley law.

Therefore there is little promise of any prompt acceptance, on our side, of a reciprocity arrangement on the general basis of a reduction of our customs tariff under the hedged about authority of the Dingley act in return for Canada making the same recession in customs rates to us that she has already conceded Great Britain. Besides it is not only in Washington that such proposal meets disapproval. There is a very sharp discordant note upon the part of those British imperialists who hailed the new Canadian tariff, with its discrimination in favor of British goods and against the world, as the entering wedge in the upbuilding of a great commercial union, comprising Great Britain, her colonies and dependencies, and so bind together a Greater Britain by the bands of trade and closer intercourse. But such restriction of free trade to the limits of the British empire is not to the taste of the pronounced Cobdenites of whom Mr. Laurier is one, though such restriction, and the idea of securing a preference for Canadian products in British markets in return for the granting of a preference to British goods in Canadian markets, is most popular with Canadians, and Mr. Laurier may find it politic to drift with the flood and strive to guide it rather than to stem it.

A doing away in entirety of the double line of customs houses between the United States and Canada would be much to be desired, provided a common customs tariff could be agreed upon by both countries. Without such agreement there would be a certainty of the country imposing the lower customs duties attracting the import trade of the other, and so pulling down the customs receipts and the tariff protection of the country imposing the highest duties. So provision for a common customs tariff on foreign goods must precede the making of any agreement for the establishment of a true commercial union between the United States and Canada. Without such provision the doing away of the customs barrier between the United States and Canada cannot be thought of, with such provision the doing away of such customs barrier would not only be feasible but much to be desired.

The mutual advantages of such an agreement whereby Canada and the United States would be made commercially one are great, the disadvantages none. There would arise competition on the part of Canadians for markets in the United States from which they are now shut out, and competition on the part of our producers in Canadian markets in which it is not now felt. But such competition would be of the healthy, the invigorating kind, competition, such as now takes place between the people of Iowa and the Dakotas, of Pennsylvania and New York, and a trade would develop across the border as beneficial to all concerned as the present free trade between the states of our union, the states of the south and the north, and such free trade is to be welcomed by good protectionists, for such trade would be truly natural, not forced, and the trade that courses in natural channels must ever be beneficial to mankind.

It is because trade between the older and newer nations of

the world is not free that good protectionists demand the imposing of tariff duties for protection's sake. They demand such duties, such protection, that the artificial restraints to trade reared up by producers of the older countries may be counteracted, neutralized, and the development of the resources of the newer countries enabled to develop along freer and fuller lines. And what are these artificial restraints, these obstacles to free trade reared up in the older nations and which men seek to overthrow by a protective tariff? In a word they are the obstacles reared by those commanding centralized capital, bent on securing a monopoly market, and ready to that end to pocket the losses of underselling necessary to crush out developing industries. Such underselling is not healthful competition, for it presages a raising of prices to consumers, an exacting of monopoly prices in the end. So to prevent such underselling by the raising of a protective tariff is a boon to consumers. Higher prices to begin with insure lower prices in the end. In short, the holding of foreign monopoly, of the power of centralized capital in restraint makes possible the development of trade in natural channels. It is true that domestic monopolies have grown up and retarded the development of our resources, checked the growth of new industries, halted progress. But it is not beyond our power to control, to destroy, the deadening power of such monopolies. The restraint of foreign monopoly falls alone and of necessity upon the protective tariff.

And this restraint and the equalizing of the rates of wages is what should ever be sought after by the framers of a protective tariff. The accomplishment of more than this by means of a protective tariff should never be aimed at. And, therefore, it would be well, it would be mutually advantageous, if the customs barrier between Canada and the United States could be done away with in its entirety. This is especially desirable because differences of climate make it possible for Canada to produce many things more advantageously, at less labor cost than we can, and such products we can better afford to buy than produce. Our labor would be better spent in those lines of production in which we are at no natural disadvantage and exchanging the surplus for those products that others can better produce than we.

Such trade must be naturally advantageous, mutually satisfactory, for such interchange of products is natural, it is such interchange that would naturally take place if man built no obstacles in restraint of trade, if all men, all nations, were assured equal opportunities in the development of their resources, in short, if there was absolute free trade, a trade free not alone from customs barriers but from the influence, the artificial, the life sapping control of monopolies, monopolies that may be enthroned behind the power of money, of centralized capital, that may be reared upon a downtrodden wage earning population. But so long as such monopolies, such artificial obstacles stand in the way of free trade we can only secure the blessings of free trade, the advantages coming from the development of trade and industry in natural channels, by counteracting such artificial barriers reared to turn trade out of its natural channels by raising other barriers, customs barriers, to turn it back.

Between countries where the first artificial barriers do not exist it is not needful to rear protective tariff walls, for to do so amounts to the raising of tariff barriers to overcome obstacles to the free course of trade that do not exist. And when this is the case the rearing of these needless barriers must retard the development of trade in its natural and most profitable channels. It is for this reason that a customs barrier between the United States and Canada is conducive to no good end. It is for this reason that commercial union with Canada would be most desirable, it is for this reason that a trades union of all the nations of the American continents, the uniting of the nations of North and South America into one nation commercially, would be mutually advantageous, would greatly add to the profits, the production of wealth, the rapidity of growth, the power, the contentment, the stability of one and all. And the great Republic would not profit least. Nor is the early realization of such a trades union an impossibility.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Our Debt, and Johnson's, to James Boswell.

The Life of Samuel Johnson to which is added the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. By JAMES BOSWELL. Edited by PERCY FITZGERALD. New York: Thomas Whittaker. \$2.

To have a "favorite" anything betokens a willingness to go through life with a Tom Thumb mind, but the thing is only a harmless delusion. Our minor loves multiply as our knowledge expands, and we find that for every varying mood there is a melody, a dream-picture, a flower, a poem, a book, a friend, whose spell for the passing hour transcends all others. The only time it is pardonable to insult the luxuriant will-garden of books, and our own intelligence, by limiting our choice to a single favorite is when we get shipwrecked and can save only one book to cheer the slow years of our Robinson Crusoe isolation. Then must be reviewed in a twinkling the thousand needs of an appetite suddenly cut off from lavish indulgence to feast on bill of fare memories and this single can of something. It must not be strong meat extract, because that means starvation on a stimulant. Our peck of dirt is quite as necessary as the essence that flavors it, and it need not be foul. No good meal, however rich its juices, is complete without its pudding of some sort, which ought to be spelt—padding. If Robinson Crusoe is a fairly well-rounded man of the world, with the heart of a woman and the soul of a wingless poet, he will carry Shakespeare with him into his captivity which will no longer be loneliness. If to these he adds the love of the sublime, of the dim vista where the far beginnings of thought confuse the human and divine into mysterious grandeurs that thrill us into spiritual exaltation and mock our spy-glass efforts to see through; and the love of antique blunderings toward right by way of wrong, he will choose the much belauded, little read Bible, and if the two versions are before him he will stick to the old unspoiled one. But if our Crusoe is no more than a man of the city, whose tribe are impolitely described in Scripture as "certain sons of Belial," he, being a bit of a philosopher, keenly alive to the fascinating mysteries of human nature in modern garb, ought to make sure of Boswell's Johnson. He will get all the poetry he can hold from between its lines.

Everybody knows that this is not only the greatest, in every sense, biography ever written, or ever likely to be, but not everybody rightly appreciates what this means. It is not that Dr. Samuel Johnson was so great a character, nor that his biographer was what we understand by a great writer. Johnson was most truly a very remarkable man, and Boswell was a very small one, only he had the genius and the rare greatness to exhibit his smallness that his hero's figure might be more impressive by contrast. Thus the book is the revelation of two radically opposite types of character, each essential to the other, and men's deep interest in following the working-out of character upon character, and upon the famous men who circled around Johnson, will never die out. They lived in a period when politics and literature were more picturesque than now, as their costumes were. By the drift and fitness of things Johnson found himself the figure-head of English literature, and by virtue of his unique personality, with the ungrudged homage of his brothers of the quill, he was king, not to say despot, of the realm of books, as no man can ever again be. No second Boswell will ever again play long-eared shadow to a second Johnson; if such a character could be duplicated all the conditions of our era are dead against his monopolizing so much space on the stage, and if his talk were as fully recorded it would not be read. Public taste prefers puppet heroes of the hour to solid ones that endure.

Boswell is easy to underrate. If he had the soul of a valet, as some unfairly suppose, we must class it with Milton's angels, "those also serve who only stand and wait." He stooped to conquer, cheerfully subdued his peppery personal pride to enable the world to share his nobler pride in his hero, and there is more than a spice of immortal glory in the achievement of a splendid immortality for another. But for Boswell, Johnson would have been one of the shadowy figures that elude us when we want to know them better. This biography makes him the best known real man in all literature, and we feel he deserves so to be. Boswell was aristocratic and superfine, vain of his rank, of his clothes, of his friendships, of his abilities, and vainest of all over his being tolerated by Johnson. A larger spirit could not have so persisted in worming himself into the good graces of a scornful superior, but neither could he have enriched posterity with this inexhaustible treasure of wit, wisdom, story, history, portraits, social pictures, political insight, literary life and character, as vivid and more charming and enlarging to-day than when it was penned.

As for Johnson, who does not know him in some way, as by unconscious absorption, thanks to the permeating quality of Boswell's ink? The huge, burly, surly-faced Ursa Major, lumbering along the cobblestone pavement of Fleet street, as though the sway of his body floated him without any help from his feet. His frowsy wig all awry, his ruffled shirt snuff-colored from a fortnight's wear, for we remember his honest confession, "I cannot say I ever had a passion for clean linen." Up the filthy thoroughfare he ambles, glimmering with diseased eyes to see when to make way for the droves of cattle and make sure that he duly touches each iron post as he goes along, one of his cherished whimsies. A youth of pathetic gloom was his, big and gaunt, a target never missed by the arrows of disease, poverty, melancholy, verging often on despair, but for the grand undaunted heart, that was to the last a size greater than even his great mind. He, too, was proud, but not as Boswell was. To stand the racket of university life as a pauper among snobs, for these abounded then as now in the haunts that should be kept sacred to lovers of books, was heroism in undress, the finest of all. When one morning he found a pair of new shoes outside his bedroom door, put there by some kind anonymous friend, he flung them out into the street in his rage, though his own were all holes. Whether he was the conquering or the conquered hero in his marriage to the widow of twice his age and none of his tastes must be guessed at in the light of her little fortune of four thousand dollars. With this Johnson set up his school, with only three pupils, one being David Garrick. This money gone the venture ended, and the scene shifts to the wanderings of Johnson, the scholar with his poet companions in poverty, gathering their last pennies for a midnight cup of coffee at the stall before spending the small hours in the bedless streets.

For many years he slaved like a Titan at every kind of honorable literary task-work, if the polishing-up of Parliament speeches into Johnsonian orations can be included in that, and he toiled like this despite unconquerable natural laziness and in defiance of ailments and poverty few others have withstood. One glorious thing he did, which alone would suffice to win the eternal honor and gratitude of men of letters, and not from them only, for its influence went wider than was then seen. In his tremendous letter to Lord Chesterfield, Johnson struck the blow that forever freed intellect and genius from the degrading slavery to patronage. Authors had to beg the honor of a patron's name and dole as the only proper and profitable means of getting their wares before the public, and what ignominious wares those Prefaces and Dedications were! Chesterfield had kept Johnson waiting like a menial when he went to ask his lordship's gracious patronage for his great Dictionary. The indignant author went out in a huff and pegged away at his monumental work for seven sore years of struggle. When his fame had grown to godly dimensions and the Dictionary was about to come out, my lord shrewdly thought to link his name with Johnson's by proffering the patronage once sought but long ignored. That manliest and most cutting of all letters known to literature is, or should be, too familiar to need quoting here. It lightly recalls the seven years' neglect "since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door . . . without one word of encouragement or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a patron before. . . . Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? . . . (Having succeeded without aid so far, he proposes to accept none now) for I have been long wakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boasted myself, with so much exaltation, my lord, your lordship's most humble, most obedient servant, Sam. Johnson."

The present edition makes a handsome large volume of over seven hundred pages, and it includes the "Tour to the Hebrides." The learned editor greatly increases the value of the book to the general reader by his *Notes*, his biographical Dictionary of the persons mentioned in the text, his epitome of Johnson's letters, and by the list of the more striking passages in the book, appended to his excellent and elaborate index. These helps are peculiar to this edition. The high merit of the book as a whole—which has five portraits—makes it unpleasant to point out a number of printer's errors; the date of the famous letter quoted above is given as 1775 instead of 1755, "quality" should be "equality" on p. 279; "found" should be "sound," p. 541; "Taxation on Tyranny," p. 543, should be "no"; the word "it" is omitted on p. 343, 2nd col., line 39; "Nathaniel," p. 703, is wrong. These are specimens of careless work which will doubtless be put right in future editions.

Dames and Damsels of Our Revolution.

Catherine Schuyler. By MARY GAY HUMPHREYS. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1 25.

This completes the series of six biographies of prominent women in the Colonial and Revolutionary period. Catherine Schuyler, being of Van Rensselaer and Livingston blood, and the wife of General Philip Schuyler, could not help figuring as a leader in society during the stormy period from her marriage in 1755 to her death in 1803, though her preference was for the quiet happiness of home life. She was married at twenty and bore fourteen children. The beadroll of fame is not for good women who stay silent in the shade of the rooftree and render the patriotic service of motherhood and all womanly devotion to workers and fighters in the field, though many a medalled warrior's boasted deeds shrink small compared with the braveries and martyrdoms of these unsung ministers of grace. For this reason these unpretentious but very carefully compiled lives of worthy American women are welcome, as well as for their graphic pictures of social life in that interesting period. This, indeed, is the principal interest of the present work. We see Catherine as schoolgirl, bride, matron of a stately Colonial mansion, and follow her in the ups and downs of domestic adventure during those troublous transition years. It is all prettily interesting. The outbreak of the Revolution gave a fillip to economy, half patriotic, half faddish, and fine dames conspire to dress plainly in American linens and woollens, and "totally expunge English bees and cheese from their tables." Just before her husband was superseded by General Gates Mrs. Schuyler displayed unwonted capacity for heroic action. The romantic story of the murder of Jane McCrea comes into the narrative here. This young lady, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister of Jersey, was on a visit to friends of her lover, a British officer with Burgoyne. Her brother, a patriot, urged her to come to him at Albany, but she lingered, hoping to meet her betrothed. She and her hostess were captured by some Indians, and Jenny's mutilated body was afterwards found under an old pine tree. Her scalp was offered for sale to the British. Her lover bought it, deserted into Canada, where to the end of his prolonged life he lived as a recluse. The murder was outside Saratoga. Catherine Schuyler's country home lay in the path of the British army. She was bent on saving some of her household treasures, so set out from Albany accompanied by only one man. They met the terrified residents fleeing from the murderers of Jane McCrea. When they pressed her to turn back with them her answer was, "A General's wife should not know fear," and on she went. She determined to burn the wheat fields. The negro was afraid to apply the torch. Snatching it from him Catherine herself fired the golden crop and watched till it was all burned up. After three days she had to bear the blow of her husband's removal from his command, through intrigue, it is said.

Interesting is the view we get of Alexander Hamilton. He married Betsey, sister of Catherine, and then returned to headquarters as Washington's Secretary. Soon happened the unfortunate breach between the two noble friends. Washington had sent Hamilton downstairs for certain papers. On his way back with them he wasted a few moments talking with Lafayette. Washington was waiting at the head of the stairs and, losing his temper, he said some sharp thing to the dilatory Secretary for the "disrespect." Hamilton resigned, set up housekeeping in Albany and took to the law for a living. To Lafayette he wrote, "I have been employed for the last ten months in rocking the cradle and studying the art of fleecing my neighbors." Then came the first administration, with President Washington blossoming into regal state in his New York settlement. The courtly folk were sore puzzled to fix on the correct title and rules of etiquette. The President was to be "His Elective Majesty," "His Mightiness" or "His Highness;" his house was to groan under the awe-inspiring name, "The Presidoliad." Costumers and wigmakers were as frantic as the dancing masters in devising new and impossible get-ups and capers. Washington gave occasional theatre parties to see the new play, *The School for Scandal*, at which he and others were properly shocked. Col. Hamilton and his wife are among the party, showing renewal of the old relations and something more, for Hamilton was now Secretary of the Treasury. Amid all this carnival of luxury the Hamiltons were happy in genteel poverty. Talleyrand wrote, "I have seen one of the wonders of the world. I have seen a man who made the fortune of a nation laboring all night to support his family." Years after this, in 1795, when Hamilton resigned his Cabinet office, he wrote to his wife's sister, "To indulge my

domestic happiness more freely was the principal motive for relinquishing an office in which it is said I have gained some glory and the difficulties of which had just been subdued. . . . We remain here till June when we become stationary at New York, where I resume the practice of law, for, my dear sister, I tell you without regret what I hope you anticipate, that I am poorer than when I went into office. I allot myself four or five years of work, more than will be pleasant, though much less than I have had for the last five years." His sister-in-law, Catherine Schuyler, died before her brilliant relative met his untoward fate.

Here is a thumb-nail sketch of Jefferson, dining at Hamilton's; "newly arrived from France, in a blue coat with large bright buttons, his vest and small clothes of crimson. His animated countenance was of a brick-red hue, his bright eye and foxy hair, his tall, gaunt, ungainly form and square shoulders, in perfect contrast with the small, graceful Hamilton, his great antagonist."

Philadelphia rivaled New York in lively social doings. They cost money, but—who cared? The belle could have her hair powdered and towered high for fifteen dollars a year, and her dainty boots were only six dollars and a half. She could get a whole guinea if she cared to part with a "live tooth," though Washington was content with a set of "sea horse teeth," a mermaid's outfit doubtless came too high. In New York "you enter the room with a formal curtsey, and after the 'How-do's' things are finished; all a dead calm until cards are introduced, when you see pleasure dancing in the eyes of all the matrons and they seem to gain new life; the maidens decline for the pleasure of making love. Here it is always leap year. For my part I am used to another style of behavior," quoth the prudent Miss Franks. Of the girls of Philadelphia she writes, "They have more cleverness in the turn of the eye than those of New York in their whole composition," a testimony to which all the young men bewitched to this day give unanimous approval. But Governor Livingston writes to Kitty, his daughter, in the key of a disenchanted old fogey; "the Philadelphia flirts are equally famous for their want of modesty and want of patriotism in their over complaisance to red-coats, (the English officers) who could not conquer the men of the country but everywhere they have taken the women almost without a trial—damn them."

Miss Humphreys has done splendidly with the scant materials at her disposal, and the get up of this capital book, with its portraits, is up to the high standard of this house.

MINOR MENTION.

Better Days; or, A Millionaire of To-morrow. By THOMAS FITCH and ANNA M. FITCH. Chicago. The Schulte Publishing Company. 25c.

A story not of impossibilities, for nothing is impossible, but of dreams—dreams that we have no right to hope will come true. Unless we help ourselves to rise no one else will, unless we have the manhood to resist the oppressions of moneyed oligarchy we will not be relieved of the burdens that grind us down to poverty and we ought not to be. Nature is bounteous in her gifts to those who will work and work in accord with her laws. To those who read aright her mandates there is no limit to her bounties. There are no obstacles of nature's making in the way of man lifting himself to a higher and higher plane, to a life of ever-increasing plenty and contentment. If man fails to do this he has no one to blame but himself. All he has to do to gain command over the forces of nature, and so of the road of progress, is to industriously follow out nature's laws, to take those laws for his own guidance. In short, the people who will help themselves will get ahead and prosper, the people who wait for some fortuitous accident to help them out of the mire will retrograde. This is the lesson of the world's history. But here we have a politico-economic story, in which the world is reformed, not through any uprising of the people but the accidental discovery of a mountain of gold. We have a story where wealth, countless millions, yes, billions, are showered upon one man, and he reforms the world, emancipates the masses of the people from the thraldom of poverty, inaugurates an era of universal peace. Everything comes right but not through the enterprise of the people, the burdens are lifted from the backs of the many but not by their effort, prosperity comes, not as nature's reward to a people who have deciphered nature's laws, but as the gift of one man favored by accident. It is decidedly fatalistic, the lesson of this story. It is not be up and doing, but lie still and help will come. It is the fatalistic doctrine of Mahomet, who taught that men's lives are written on the book of fate, and as there written must be unfolded, that nothing that

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man can do can change the order or accomplishments of his life. It is not the progressive doctrine of Christianity that God will help him who helps himself, that man has his life for weal or woe, for progress or retrogression, for accomplishment or fruitlessness in his own keeping.

As to the story, we have full play given to wild imagination, the building of air castles, the unfolding of Utopian dreams, to which we are all more or less given, but which most mortals have the prudence to keep to themselves. A conception of the ways of our stock exchanges, a conception quite generally wanting among their critics, is certainly shown, gross misrepresentation of labor unions finds place as a foundation for an argument for co-operative societies, a railroad system where the railroad has no rolling stock of its own, where all men are free to run their own trains, their own locomotives, their own cars, with their own engineers and conductors, where collisions are made impossible by "elastic buffers of rubber filled with air" we have dreamed of. Finally, such a mixing up of dates as we have in this story, laid in the last years of the present and first years of the twentieth century, is quite incomprehensible. If there are not two slip ups out of every three chances in the writing down of dates given for the happening of future events we are much mistaken.

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Karma. A Story of Early Buddhism. By PAUL CARUS. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 75 cents.

That which a man sows, that also shall he reap. To hammer this half-truth out as gold flakes of higher wisdom is the office of most pulpits and some books, yet it often falls flat, as familiarity breeds indifference. Dr. Carus, a Chicago philosopher, perceiving the public's readiness to go into ecstasies over the stalest things if clothed in the newest fashion, has shrewdly turned it to account by dressing up the good old Golden Rule in the garb of an oriental fable, and, with his enthusiasm for the logical, he has had this fable printed and pictured by Japanese artists and printers on native crinkled paper. The admirable artifice is a fine success. The homely tale takes on a musty antique flavor, the colored illustrations take the shine out of most of our picture books for sheer artistic and mechanical merit, and the aesthetical reader finds it delicious to sip Christian tea out of a heathen teapot. Tolstoi translated Dr. Carus's fable into Russian, and somebody turned it into French, as Tolstoi's work, which he honorably corrected. So the little piece is in every way a great success, and deservedly so in every respect. It is also an artistic curiosity.

**

The Right Side of the Car. By JOHN URI LEVOD. Boston: R. G. Badger & Co. \$1.

Sometimes we find the proverbial step from the sublime to the ridiculous is no step at all, but a short involuntary slide. If anybody but a slave of the quill reads this "book," he will end before he knows it with a straddle, what acrobats call a split. The death of a young woman in the last stage of consumption, in the train that is carrying her toward her western home, is an incident essentially pathetic and therefore sacred. The machine-made pathos of the narrative has the charm of the old "Hark from the Tomb a Doleful Sound" poetry, without its sincerity. But the publisher's "advance notice" which comes with it, says it is a "forceful," "charming," "imaginative," story, making us "wonder at the power which produced it," it has "a tenderness, a pathos, a fervency that clutch the heart-strings and tighten the throat-bands (? shirt collar) and suffuse the eyes," it has such "rare beauty, superb finish, exquisite delicacy and poetic grace," though "the art is so subtle that it is easily within the bounds of probability that it escape the attention of the ordinary reviewer," which latter encomium is strictly true. The "book," bound in green and gold, has 59 pages, 30 of which are fortunately blank, including the backs of its four illustrations.

**

The Sacrifice of a Throne. By H. REMSEN WHITEHOUSE. New York: Bonnell, Silver & Co. \$1.50.

The author was with our Legation at Madrid, deeply interested in the effort to establish Amadeus of Savoy, brother of the present king of Italy, upon the Spanish throne. This was nearly quarter of a century ago, and as the adventure proved a very melancholy failure, involving the premature death from worry of his amiable wife, it is not easy to find an adequate reason for this too detailed biography of Amadeus, who died nearly eight years ago. The title is not intentionally ironical, because the tone of the book throughout is that of a typical courtier, but there is a

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high to say that one-third of the deaths occurring in the United States are caused by bronchitis and consumption; but certain it is that it is not very much out

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rather cruel touch in terming the involuntary abdication of a tottering throne, to which Amadeus was not invited by the nation, a "sacrifice." Incidentally there is interesting reading about the first Cuban rebellion and the stormy state of the Spanish parties when Prim's assassination and Castelar's eloquence drew the world's attention. The book is well made and there are several portraits.

* * *
By Right of Sword. By A. W. MARCHMONT. New York : New Amsterdam Book Co. \$1.25.

A lively story of love and adventure in Russia, the teller of it being Rupert Tregether, a young English soldier, who, having "made a mess of things" over a love affair, threw everything up and set out for Russia, where he had spent several years of his life. His uppermost wish, in his misery, was that some Turkish bullet might save him the disgrace of suicide. The skilled reader knows about what to expect in a novel thus opened, and there will be no disappointment on the score of action. There are several page pictures and the covers are red cloth.

* * *
Van Hoff, or the New Faust. By ALFRED SMYTHE. New York : American Publishers Corporation. \$1.00.

The author favors us with his portrait lest the genius supposed to gleam in the features might be harder to discover in the story. It is a new fantasia on a familiar theme, science, i.e., bottled chemicals, ghosts, Frankenstein thrills, and well-frothed mysteries. A specimen of Mr. Smythe's appallingly impressive style is found in the first sentence, which runs thus, "Reader, permit me to strike the keynote—nothing is impossible!" Mr. Smythe is mistaken; we find it impossible to read his preface, but his story is possibly perfection.

BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE MACMILLAN CO. have an interesting venture ahead in their issue of Justin McCarthy's "Story of Gladstone's Life." Up to a certain time it was war to the knife between the English Premier and the Irish Member of Parliament. Then, unexpectedly, like a sunbeam out of a thunder-cloud, Mr. Gladstone paid Mr. McCarthy a public compliment on his novel "Dear Lady Disdain," which he had been reading with great delight. That the story will be admirably written, sympathetically and critically, is sure, and the abundance of portraits and views will make it attractive.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. are bringing out a new life of Christ, entitled "The Story of Jesus Christ," by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward. She has had it on her mind for many years to retell the story dramatically, and in this may be traced the book's sole claim to what measure of popularity may await it. A new version of the Arthurian legends, from the French of "Crestien of Troyes," is sure of a welcome. It is by W. Wells Newell, who argues in his Introduction that the Round Table legends originated in France, and not among the Celts or British. The work is in two handsome volumes.

HARPER BROS. have an entertaining book in the work entitled "Marchesi and Music." The lady has long been a foremost teacher of singing, many eminent operatic stars were her pupils, and she has had the friendship of every notable composer, performer, and manager in Europe for years. Her literary ability is acknowledged, so that her reminiscences of Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Rossini, Berlioz, Rubinstein, Verdi, and others must be uniquely interesting. This house also announces a new novel by the author of "The Silence of Dean Maitland," with the title "Ribston Pippins."

LITTLE, BROWN & Co. announce the following works of special importance to investors. "The Law of Railway Bonds and Mortgages" in the United States, with illustrative cases from English and Colonial courts, by Edward Lyman Short. This forms a very complete text-book on the subject, which includes municipal bonds of gas and other companies. Another new work is "The Law of Promoters and the Promotion of Corporations," by Arthur M. Alger, which covers new ground with considerable care. The third book is "The Law of Mines and Mining in the United States." By Daniel M. Barringer and J. Stokes Adams. This is a compendium inestimable to all engaged in valuing and investing in mining properties.

D. APPLETON & Co. are issuing the "New Letters of Napoleon I., in which the Emperor portrays himself as no biographer could.

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ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

The encouragements are great, and on the increase. It is stated that twice as many books are sold now as ten years ago, editions of five thousand were then rarer than editions of twenty-five are now. Newspapers are rushing into the book-reviewing business, so far as they can make a business of it, and their long or short notices assist the reader to buy, if not to judge. The growing disposition to turn everything into a business or science is a distinct mischief from nearly every point of view. In baseball, foot-ball, horse-racing, and other pursuits which once were pastimes, this degrading commercial instinct has ruined the healthy pleasure that used to be their aim and justification. Games are games no longer; they are either grim fights for victory or dismal parodies of scientific study. Book-reviewing used to be done in the interest of book buyers and readers; it has now degenerated to a serious extent into a means of pushing the trade and vamping up unearned reputations.

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These evils work their own remedy, as crooked politics are said to do, but it is a slow process and many are befooled meanwhile. Newspapers owe many unperformed obligations to their readers, but there are perhaps a score throughout the land which have held the balance evenly between author, publisher and the public, and the good service done in their booky columns has been incalculable. Their critiques and reviews have not been written in the counting room. If the ordinary newspaper can deliver its judgment on new books uninfluenced by its advertisement columns and friendships there is no reason why the new departure should not be helpful.

**

Edward Everett Hale, writing to the *Critic* about the Algonquin language, suggests an interesting occupation for spare hours. He says:

"Six hundred words are said to be sufficient for the couriers in Europe, and it is the outside limit of the vocabulary of the Italian opera. It is true that this is the minimum of human intelligence in both cases; but still it answers for the conveyance

of thought. In the book of *Judges*, for instance, there are not seven hundred different words. I will take this opportunity to ask if anyone has ever prepared a vocabulary of what may be called the "courier language." That is to say, is there any list of the six hundred words most necessary in communication between human beings?"

**

Nothing is sacred to the sensational newspapers, not even so palpable a pious fraud as that of the so-called letter of Pontius Pilate, and if they respect anything it is a good old take-in. Prof. Haupt, of Johns Hopkins, sums expert judgments on it thus:

"The original is believed to be spurious, and is generally regarded as one of the curiosities of apocryphal literature. The report is referred to in a number of the early patristic writings, but Biblical authorities do not incline to the belief that such an official message was ever sent to the Emperor. There is also a tradition that Pilate sent two letters to Tiberius, in which the crucifixion of Christ and the incidents leading thereto were described, and that these letters were read by St. Peter and St. Paul in the presence of the Emperor Nero."

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- BABOO HURRY BUNGSHO [ABBERJEE, B. A. By F. Anstey. Pp. 272. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
 THE BETH BOOK. By Sarah Grand. Pp. 573. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
 THE EXPLOITS OF MYLES STANDISH. By Henry Johnson. Pp. 276. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
 A HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE. By Edward Dowden. Pp. 444. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
 INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM. By David Macgregor Means. Pp. 248. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
 THE LATIMERS. A Tale of the Western Insurrection of 1794. By Henry Christopher McCook. Pp. 593. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. \$1.50.
 LEAVES OF GRASS. By Walt Whitman. Pp. 459. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2.

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